

# *Ethnic Hungarian Minorities:* **Past, Present, and Future**

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## **1. Introduction**

- ➔ Today, there are roughly 5 million ethnic Hungarians living outside the national borders of Hungary
- ➔ Most of these Hungarians live in neighboring countries of the Danube Basin. In particular: Romania (Transylvania/Erdély), Slovakia, and Serbia (Voivodina/Vajdaság)
- ➔ In many cases, portions of these countries are predominately Hungarian and have substantial historical and cultural importance for all Hungarians
- ➔ Unfortunately in a region known for its nationalism and recent conflicts, Hungarian minorities have suffered from discrimination and ethnic conflict

- ➔ This presentation seeks to answer what the future holds for ethnic Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries given their past and current realities

## **2. The Treaty of Trianon**

- ➔ In 1920, the victorious allies of WWI drafted and imposed the Treaty of Trianon to punish Hungary and Axis powers for their participation in the war
- ➔ France, Italy, the United States, and the United Kingdom were the principle allied powers present at the Treaty. Also present were states that stood to gain including Romania, and the newly formed Serb-Croat-Slovene and Czechoslovakian states

- The victors of WWI, in particular the French were eager to weaken the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and wanted to reward various nations that had assisted in the war
- Hungary lost approx. 2/3 of its former territory (325,411 to 92,916 sq. km), 1/2 of its population (20,880,487 to 8,522,230 people), and 90% of its natural resources (including industry, railways, and other infrastructure)
- Likewise, Trianon is the basis for the substantial Hungarian ethnic minorities of present (1/3 of the population lost was Hungarian speaking)
- Although the treaty made Hungary an ethnically homogenous state, it seems small adjustments to Hungary's borders as specified in the treaty could have been drawn to include many more ethnic Hungarians

### 3. The Hungarians of Romania

#### (Transylvania/Erdély)

##### *Historical Background*

- In the 10th century Hungarians settled in Transylvania
- Transylvania was part of a powerful medieval Hungarian Kingdom with 3 historic communities 1.) the Hungarians 2.) the Szekleys 3.) the Saxons. Hungary's most famous king Matyas Korvinus was born in Kolosvar Transylvania
- Following the invasion of the Turks in 1526, Transylvania became an independent principality ruled by elected Hungarian princes
- Following the expulsion of the Turks from the Carpathian Basin, Transylvania became part of the Austrian empire in 1711 and by the mid 19th century a key part of the Austro-Hungarian empire.
- Throughout the 18th century ethnic Romanians (who first appeared in the late 13th century) immigrated in greater and greater numbers to Transylvania to represent 58% of the population by 1780 (49.6% in 1720). Nonetheless, most Romanians refute these historical facts (wrongly) and claim the ancient Romans of Dacia (Transylvania) as their ancestors
- Transylvania prospered greatly under the Austro-Hungarian empire until its collapse in WWI and delegation to Romania under the Treaty of Trianon. A declaration of Transylvania's union with Romania was made by the Romanian assembly in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) on December 1, 1918 (currently Romania's national holiday to the dismay of ethnic Hungarians)
- The *Alba Iulia Declaration*, considered to be the starting point in the creation of the modern Romanian state, promised broad-range rights to the "co-habiting nations" but Romania never ensured these rights. The 1923 Constitution declared Romania a unitary nation-state and made no mention of the rights promised in the Alba Iulia Declaration. Furthermore, the successive Romanian governments also ignored the minority agreement, which was signed before the Trianon Treaty on November 9th 1919, and was never ratified by the Romanian legislature
- After 1918, the national minority policy of the successive Romanian governments was aimed at depriving the Hun-

- garians of Transylvania of their financial resources and network of institutions
- The *Second Vienna Award* of August 30, 1940 which returned Northern Transylvania and the Szekler Region (43,000 sq km with a population of 2.5 million, including 1 million Romanians) to Hungary, and the events which followed left indelible marks in the memory of Transylvania's Romanian, Hungarian and German population. To this day Romanian nationalists manipulate the Romanian masses through the one-sided and distorted description of those wartime events
  - After 1945, as a result of Soviet pressure, Romania regained Northern Transylvania, including the Szekler Region. For a brief moment, it looked as if the new Romanian government would seek a more equitable solution to the nationality problem. Law No. 86 adopted on 6 February 1945 (Nationality Statute), which has not been formally rescinded to this day, for the first time guaranteed collective rights for national minorities. In practice, however, the Nationality Statute was never implemented
  - The events of December 1989 ending Ceaușescu's dictatorship did not bring the anticipated liquidation of the communist-nationalist minority policy. The new Constitution and the legislation of the 1990s lagged far behind the rightful demands of the Hungarians in Romania and the promises of the Romanian political elite which carried out the changes of 1989. At the same time, the self-organization of Romania's ethnic Hungarians once again became possible
  - In December 1989, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR) was established, and took upon itself the interest protection and political representation of Romania's ethnic Hungarians. Even though the DAHR is made up of several different interest groups and platforms, it has to this day preserved its unity
  - Current Situation- Some Positive Developments
  - The Hungarian Consulate opened in Kolosvar in 1996
  - The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians (DAHR) participated in the '96-'00 Constantinescu government in Romania
  - Romania has signed and ratified numerous international treaties concerning minority rights most notably including *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1997), *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (but still to be ratified), *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (1992), and *The Bi-lateral Friendship Treaty between Hungary and Romania* (1996)
  - Economically, Hungarians are one of the best off groups in Romania (linkages with Hungary/work ethic). There are over 3000 Hungarian ventures in Romania amounting to more than 140 million in Hungarian capital investment.
  - The development of a strong Hungarian civil society with more than 300 NGO's
  - Substantial Hungarian language media has surfaced though with limited Romanian financial support
  - Thriving Primary and Secondary Hungarian language schools, and some Hungarian language faculties at Babes-Bolyai University in Kolosvar

- ➔ Current Situation- Some Negative Developments
- ➔ Romanian Policy of resettling ethnic Romanians has continued to a certain extent (offering economic incentives)
- ➔ The ethnic Hungarian population has been decreasing due to lower birthrates (esp. when compared to ethnic Romanians) and massive emigration (over 100,000 people since the 1970's)
- ➔ Though the new Romanian Constitution promises many minority rights, it is not observed or practiced to a great extent in actuality. Window dressing?
- ➔ The *public administration law*, adopted in 1991, mandated the exclusive use of the Romanian language. Only recent changes in 2001 have made an exception for areas where Hungarians consist of more than 20%
- ➔ Still no adoption of a proposed *National Minority Law* proposed by the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians
- ➔ Continued racism and discrimination by ultra-nationalist Romanian political leaders (Funar the mayor of Kolosvar/ '00 presidential candidate Vadim Tudor) and local Romanian police in Hungarian-majority areas
- ➔ Substantial controversy still persists over a watered down Hungarian "Status Law" and an independent Hungarian University in Transylvania (The Sapientia)
- ➔ Romania's increasing importance as a future and highly strategic NATO ally, and possibly Romania's substantial oil infrastructure, has made minority issues a distant issue in the eyes of the U.S.A and other international powers

## 4. The Hungarians of Slovakia

### *Historical Background*

- ➔ The Hungarians of Slovakia first became a minority in 1918 with the establishment of the state of Czechoslovakia. Until then, their political, cultural, and national existence was similar to that of Hungary proper
- ➔ Of the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 61,633 square kilometers were attached to Czechoslovakia, with a total population of 3,517,568 according to the data of the previous census. Of these, 30.3% were Hungarians, 7.4% Germans, 48.2% Slovaks, and 12.3% Ruthenians
- ➔ Czechoslovakia assumed obligation under Trianon to observe minority rights but this obligation was ignored by the government. By the end of December 1920, 105,000 Hungarians were ethnically cleansed and forced to leave Czechoslovakia
- ➔ On January 1st 1923, the country's administrative arrangement was changed. The creation of large counties with territory apportioned in a north-south direction aimed at ensuring that the Hungarian population would remain a majority in few areas
- ➔ The dissatisfaction of Czechoslovakia's numerous minorities was exploited by Hitler's Nazi Germany. This resulted in the *First Vienna Awards* made in 1938, 11,927 square kilometers with 869,299 inhabitants (86.5% of them of Hungarian mother-tongue) were given back to Hungary

- ➔ Following World War II, these territories were returned to Czechoslovakia, which resulted in the total deprivation of the civic rights of the Hungarian population and in a substantial second ethnic cleansing of Hungarians. President Eduard Beneš of Czechoslovakia advocated the complete removal of Hungarian ethnic minorities
- ➔ Under the so-called re-Slovakisation decree of June 1946, 327,000 persons were obliged to renounce their Hungarian nationality
- ➔ Following the complete communist takeover in February 1948, the open deprivation of civil rights suffered by the Hungarians diminished for a while
- ➔ However, after the famous “Prague Spring” of 1968, nationalism in the now dual Czech-Slovak state began to grow and further disenfranchise ethnic Hungarians
- ➔ This hatred would later be compounded with the independence of the Slovak state from Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1993 and the ultra-nationalist tendencies of PM Vladimir Mečiar and his followers
- ➔ However, with the collapse of communism in 1989, the Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia were able to start organizing themselves. In the wake of the change of political regime, they set up four political parties which merged 1998 to become the Hungarian Coalition Party (MKP)
- ➔ Current Situation- Some Positive Developments
- ➔ Slovakia and Hungary signed a bi-lateral friendship treaty in 1995 making special references to minority rights
- ➔ Slovakia has been given a 2004 EU entry date. EU membership could well alleviate many problems for the Hungarian minority as the Slovakian government will have to answer to EU regulations and institutions
- ➔ In 2001 Slovakia joined the *European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages* despite the fact that Slovakian law still directly conflicts with the charter in several areas
- ➔ On October 11, 2001 – Slovakia in partnership with Hungary rebuilt the Maria Valeria bridge between Esztergom and Parkany (Sturovo), the old remains of which had served as a bitter symbol to the bad relations between the two countries due to the minority issue
- ➔ Since 1998 and the replacement of ultra-nationalist Vladimir Mečiar (strongly anti-Hungarian), relations have improved somewhat. The Hungarian Coalition Party (MKP) even maintained 15 seats in parliament, making it the 4th biggest party in the country.
- ➔ Current Situation- Some Negative Developments
- ➔ There has been a slight decline in the Hungarian population, mostly accredited to “assimilation” (In 1961 Hungarians made up 12.4% of the population as opposed to 9.7% in 2001)
- ➔ Hungarian education has been in a poor state ever since WWII. There are inadequate and poorly funded Hungarian primary and secondary schools. In addition, 20% of native Hungarian speaking children in Slovakia are attending Slovakian-only schools. There are no Hungarian universities in Slovakia (only some cross-border cooperation with

schools in Hungary) and no Hungarian faculties at Slovakian Universities despite a government promise for one at Konstantin University in Nyitra

- ➔ The recent Slovakian Constitution spells out minority rights in VERY general terms and fails to draft any definite legal guarantees. Serious amendments need to be spelled out in the years to come
- ➔ Economically speaking, Hungarian regions are significantly worse off due to 1.) Previous ethnic cleansing of landed peasantry and middle class before and after WWII 2.) Very little government investment in Hungarian regions 3.) Principally being agricultural regions with little opportunity and high unemployment
- ➔ State-funded Hungarian media and cultural activities almost non-existent
- ➔ Ethnic hatred has persisted in the past several years (vandalism of Hungarian consulate in Kassa/defaced Petofi Sandor statue near Bratislava)
- ➔ The *Law on Re-privatisation* which came into force in January 1991 allows only for the restitution or reclaiming of properties nationalized or collectivised after 1948. This is clearly detrimental to the Hungarian population. Likewise, the *Land Law* adopted in 1991 stipulates that lands whose owners are unknown or whose legal status is unsettled will become the property of the State Land Fund and not of the local self-governments. To this category belong all the lands confiscated from the Hungarian population between 1945 and 1948

## 5. The Hungarians of Serbia (Voivodina/Vajdaság)

### *Historical Background*

- ➔ The Voivodina (Vajdaság) region has constituted the southern part of historic Hungary for a thousand years. During the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin, this territory has been the border region for both the Byzantine and Bulgarian empires
- ➔ By the end of the 14th century, the southern half of the vast territory between the Danube and Tisza Rivers had become the wealthiest, most densely populated and entirely Hungarian-inhabited part of the Kingdom of Hungary
- ➔ The immigration of Serbian ethnic groups fleeing from the Turks began at the end of the 14th century
- ➔ The 1514 peasant revolt led by György Dózsa and the subsequent arrival of the expanding Ottoman empire in the following decades led to the destruction and depopulation of the region
- ➔ The area between the Danube and Tisza rivers was liberated from the Turks after Prince Eugene of Savoy's victory at Zenta in 1697. Likewise, the region became a military border region for the Austrian Empire
- ➔ Between 1703 and 1711 the region between the Danube and Tisza rivers south of the Szeged–Szabadka (Subotica)–Zombor (Sombor) line became depopulated once again as a result of the mutually brutal campaign against Ferenc Rakoczi's war for Hungarian independence and a subsequent plague.

- ➔ The 19th century was overall a positive era (esp. after 1867), characterized by population growth, prosperity, and economic development. Peaceful relations between nationalities prevailed in spite of opposing national reform movements. The region became the rich food-pantry of the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, with plenty left for export to the European markets. While retaining its dominantly agricultural character, its rich villages, modern cities, dense rail-road network and busy waterways elevated this region to the level of the developed European countries
- ➔ Under the 1920 Treaty of Trianon following WWI, the predominantly Hungarian and German-inhabited Voivodina (55.4% of its population in 1910) came into a disadvantageous situation within the new Southern Slav State. Development came to a halt even in Szabadka (in 1910 the third largest city in Hungary), now located on the fringe of Hungary's southern border. During the interwar period more than 80,000 Serbian "colonists" re-settled in Voivodina
- ➔ At the start of WWII the Kingdom of Yugoslavia fell apart and capitulated as a result of the attack by Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria. Hungary re-occupied the northern part of the Voivodina region between the Danube and the Tisza
- ➔ Retribution followed WWII with thousands of executions and internments of Hungarians by Serbs, already decimated by war losses. Both the substantial Jewish and the German populations had disappeared
- ➔ Under Tito's Yugoslavia, Voivodina was given substantial autonomy and thrived, though Hungarian nationalism was seen as very dangerous given it bordered Soviet aligned Hungary
- ➔ However, autonomy was swept away in 1988 by the "yoghurt" revolution, characterized by the collapse of Tito's communist Yugoslavia and the rise of extreme Serbian nationalism at the hands of Milošević
- ➔ The Yugoslav civil war of the 1990's ended with the disintegration of Yugoslavia, sanctions by the international community, aerial bombings by NATO, and the fall of Milošević. Thus Ending one of the most difficult periods in contemporary history for the ethnic Hungarian population of Voivodina, while making possible the development of a qualitatively new and better political atmosphere in the region

*Current Situation- Some Positive Developments*

- ➔ Since the early 1990's various Hungarian political parties have appeared and participated in the Serbian government. Of particular significance is the Alliance of Hungarians in Voivodina (VMSZ) which since the elections of 2000 (post-Milosevic) has gained 3 seats in the Federal Parliament and 6 seats in the Serbian Parliament as well as significant regional posts in Voivodina
- ➔ The Parliament of the Serbian Republic on February 24, 2001 repealed the ill-famed law on information. This made it possible for information in minority languages to no longer come into conflict with discriminatory legal rules
- ➔ On February 4th 2002 the Serbian parliament under the post-Milosevic government passed a law returning regional

spheres of authority abolished under Milosevic. However, this has not meant a return to Autonomy nor the full recover of rights guaranteed under Tito's generous 1974 Yugoslav Constitution

- ➔ On February 26th 2002, both houses of the Yugoslav Federal Parliament passed *the law concerning the protection of the rights and freedoms of national minorities*. In itself the law represents significant progress in the field of Yugoslav minority protection and its most important element is the recognition of the right of self-determination
- ➔ Relations between Hungary and Serbia have improved since the fall of Milosevic. The Hungarian government has donated 500 million HUF to assist and promote ethnic Hungarians in Voivodina
- ➔ The final version of the autonomy concept for Voivodina's Hungarians was completed in 1999 with the participation of experts from Hungary. The document entitled "*Agreement on the Political and Legal Frameworks of the Self-Government of Voivodina and the National Communities of Voivodina*" puts the emphasis on the restoration of the provincial autonomy of Voivodina on the basis of an agreement with the government. The concept contains three forms of autonomy: personal self-government, territorial self-government, and provincial autonomy for Voivodina

*Current Situation- Some Negative Developments*

- ➔ The issue of renewed Autonomy for Voivodina has not been granted or even been seriously considered by the

National Parliament. Voivodina merely a geographical term by Serbian legal standards

- ➔ With the recent assassination of Serbia's reformed minded Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March 2003 minority issues in addition to most reforms could suffer a severe set-back
- ➔ Possible return to more nationalistic Serb attitudes depending on the outcomes of autonomy or independence for Kosovo and Montenegro
- ➔ Reminiscent of the recent Milosevic era, the January 25th 2001 ruling of the Serbian Constitutional Court prohibited the official and public life usage of Hungarian locality names
- ➔ Hungarian media suffered greatly under the Milosevic regimes hated "information law" (including loss of funding) from which it has not been able to recover. In addition, the consequences of the bombing of Hungarian radio and broadcast infrastructure in Voivodina by the US during the NATO air campaign remains
- ➔ A decreasing Hungarian population accredited to ongoing assimilation tactics, mass emigration (between 50,000-100,000 people since 1991 in response to the war and to avoid military service), census manipulations, and the subsidized influx of "Serbian refugees" from Bosnia and Croatia
- ➔ Continued ethnic tensions against Hungarians, esp. by "Serbian refugees" who often have weapons. Examples include Hungarian grave desecrations, blackmail, and racist Graffiti

## 6. Future Scenarios...

### Migration

Under this scenario, Hungarian minorities will continue to immigrate to Hungary or the west until essentially there are very few if any ethnic Hungarians in neighboring countries. Regions where ethnic Hungarians have lived for hundreds of years will be abandoned. A sad prospect.

*Why this scenario might unfold....*

- ➔ There have already been tens if not a few hundred thousand migrants since the changes of 1989. The German community of Transylvania may serve as a good example of what may happen
- ➔ It is relatively easy for ethnic Hungarians to migrate as they 1.) Require only 5 years of residency in Hungary to achieve Hungarian citizenship 2.) Speak the language/understand the culture 3.) Often have substantial contacts and family members in Hungary
- ➔ Educational and economic opportunities in Hungary are significantly better than in neighboring countries
- ➔ Continued ethnic discrimination and harassment in neighboring countries gives people reason to leave
- ➔ The benefits of EU citizenship via Hungarian citizenship. Out of the neighboring countries, only Slovakia stands to enter the EU at the same time as Hungary, Romania has been given a 2007 entry date (highly subject to change), whereas Serbia is very far from EU prospects
- ➔ Hungary's attempts to stem migration by introducing educational/financial incen-

tives to remain in native countries has failed for the most part (the status law)

### Assimilation

In this scenario, ethnic Hungarian minorities feel abandoned or choose to stay behind for a number of reasons. Eventually they are assimilated into their respective countries of residence.

*Why this scenario might unfold...*

- ➔ It may be argued that the massive waves of post-communist migration has ended leaving an aging and unskilled population with no desire or reason to leave
- ➔ Refuse to leave family, friends and their home town/village behind
- ➔ Undoubtedly, once Hungary becomes a member of the EU, stricter barriers and conditions will prevail for those wanting to leave Romania and Serbia. Hungary's 2001 Status Law was passed in order to stem migration.
- ➔ Many ethnic Hungarians from neighboring countries feel rejected and looked down upon in Hungary. Accused by some of "stealing" jobs due to their willingness to work for less. Why leave home?
- ➔ Many ethnic Hungarians come from agricultural villages with no prospects in an urbanized Hungary. Better opportunities at home (esp. for those who choose to assimilate)
- ➔ Slovakia, Romania, and Serbia have all employed to varying degrees tactics of assimilation in their educational systems. A slow but on-going phenomenon
- ➔ Imposition of national pop-culture via

the media and the changing demographics of Hungarian towns and villages

### **Integration**

In this scenario, nationalism dissipates and regional partnership and trade increases. Regional Hungarian minorities become protected and cherished multi-cultural elements of historically multi-cultural regions. Hungarians may even serve as a “bridge” between Hungary and neighboring countries bringing a never scene before age of prosperity and understanding.

*Why this Scenario may unfold...*

- ➔ EU membership seeks an agenda of integration, democracy, and regional prosperity. Hungary and neighboring countries are on an irreversible path to membership (Hungary/Slovakia in 2004, Romania in 2007, Serbia at some later date). Might EU membership make the issue of minorities irrelevant?
- ➔ Hungary and its neighbors have already made significant strides in improving their bi-lateral relationships through friendship treaties guaranteeing minority rights and continued partnership
- ➔ Hungarian investment and trade has significantly increased, especially in relation to ethnic Hungarian regions
- ➔ Attempts by Hungary to introduce legislation (such as the Status law), and by offering substantial aid and grants shows a commitment to support minorities in neighboring countries
- ➔ International treaties protecting minorities such as the The Council Of Europe's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, the

*European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, and *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* insure future Integration of which Hungary's neighbors are signatory (to varying degrees)

- ➔ Prospects for regional autonomy are distinct possibilities in some localities, in line with EU norms
- ➔ It may be argued that neighboring states have made significant attempts to improve the situation of their minorities given their transitions from communist dictatorships not so long ago. Naturally, this is an ongoing process where only time is needed

### **Disintegration**

As witnessed in nearby countries, relations between ethnic communities might become inflamed and lead to independence, or reintegration with Hungary proper through regional referendum.

*Why this scenario may unfold...*

- ➔ Similar scenarios of “disintegration” have recently occurred in the region including the violent break-up of the former Yugoslavia or Slovakia's break from Czechoslovakia
- ➔ Many Hungarian majority areas border Hungary in Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia
- ➔ In Serbia, Kosovo may become independent as well as Serb speaking Montenegro leaving the Hungarians as the only significant minority population. Why will they remain?

- ➔ Ethnic violence in the recent past, ethnic discrimination continues. Governments moving slowly to guarantee protection for minorities
- ➔ The possible election of ultra-nationalist politicians that would severely alienate ethnic Hungarians (some past examples – Vadim/Romania (run-off in last presidential election), Milosevic/Serbia, Meciar/Slovakia) and push them into scenarios leading to independence or re-integration

## **7. Conclusion**

In a world where the nation state is often an entity based on one language, ethnicity and religion it will be important for Hungary's neighbors to give special attention to their ethnic Hungarian minorities that remain central to Europe's rich cultural heritage. In many instances, Hungarians have played substantial historic and cultural roles in these traditionally multi-ethnic regions. Countries should see their minorities as a strength rather than a weakness. This is especially important given the atrocities taken against minorities in 20th century Europe from the World Wars to as recently as the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo.

That said, of the four future scenarios outlined in this presentation, integration is the most likely outcome in the long-term not to mention the most optimistic. This is especially true given the agendas of neighboring governments and their drive for membership in the European Union. In accordance, Tibor Szabo, chairman of the government office for Hungarian minorities abroad has stated that:

The Europe of the future will be more united, stronger, more democratic and closer to the citizens than the present one. A Europe in which the notion and importance of absolute territoriality will fade away while at the same time the units above the state and the smaller ones below the state will become stronger. This will resolve the old dilemma of having to choose between the "nations of Europe" or the "Europe above nations" because the Europe of the 21st century will be a "community of communities."

Furthermore, disintegration is almost out of the question given the set nature of Hungary's borders and the regions disposition for peaceful unity. It seems the scenario would only be remotely possible if dangerous and unlikely events unfolded (such as the failure of the European Union or the rise of an ultra-nationalist dictator).

On the other hand, while it appears there has been some limited assimilation, migration will continue to be a the scenario of most probability in the near future. That is, until significant quantities of freedom as well as economic and educational opportunities have become sufficiently institutionalized for ethnic Hungarians in neighboring Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia. Perhaps, these countries can take the positive examples of other European minorities as an example (most notably the Swedes of Finland and the Åland islands autonomous region).

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